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ABSTRACT

This publication deals with educational and employment opportunities for young foreigners in the Federal Republic of Germany. The following topics are covered: educational opportunities for young foreigners (West German efforts to promote integration and recruit workers from abroad); foreign nationals' children (integration into the German educational system, regional differences in proportions of foreigners in German schools, and achievement quotas of foreign children); foreign children in kindergarten (pedagogical concepts and kindergarten as an integration aid); the many possibilities available to foreign children at school (foreigners and compulsory school attendance, reintegration into the country of origin, intelligence tests, the Gesamtschule model, new teaching concepts for foreign children, model experiments to improve the education situation, and criticisms); efforts to remedy problems (the training situation with regard to foreigners, lower quotas of girls undergoing training, efforts to provide equal opportunities in German schools, vocational preparation designed especially for foreigners, training for disadvantaged youth); privileges of foreign students; future professional and employment opportunities for young foreigners, and the image of foreigners in the mass media. (MN)

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Cover photo: Two foreign children start school **Photo: Vollmer**

The educational opportunities for young foreigners

The Federal Republic of Germany is promoting integration

"The basic requirements for the integration of foreign workers and their families are to be improved, and their ability to return to their own countries preserved and strengthened... In the opinion of the Federal Government the integration of foreign children and young persons, and the preservation and improvement of their ability to return to their own countries presuppose their integration into the German education system. Only in this way, by acquiring scholastic qualifications and undergoing vocational training, can the basis for participation in social and cultural life in the Federal Republic of Germany be created and equality of opportunity be provided when starting out on life and entering the working world — here or in their own country."

In retrospect: recruitment of workers abroad

This is how the German Federal Government outlined its aims in June 1984 in regard to questions concerned with the education and training of young foreigners (Report by the Federal Government on the safeguarding of the future opportunities of youth in training and profession, p. 143ff). "Ausländerpolitik", the Bonn Government's policy in regard to foreign nationals — especially the efforts to integrate foreign children and young persons living in the Federal Republic of Germany — has now become an integral part of the Government's policy in general.

The Government statement of 4 May 1984 states: "4.6 million foreign nationals are currently living in the Federal Republic of Germany. We all realize we have much to thank them for." These words drew attention to the temporary climax of a development of something which started 30 years ago, the course of which — together with the accompanying challenges — no-one was in a position to even guess at that time.

From the mid-1950s onwards, it was becoming more and more obvious that the German workforce potential was no longer in a position to cope with increasing economic growth and the expansion of industrial production. The Federal Government, employers and trade unions were all agreed that the German economy was calling for the recruitment of foreign labour. It was against this background of economic necessity that the Federal Government concluded agreements on the recruitment of foreign workers with Italy (1955), Spain (1960), Greece (1960), Turkey (1961), Portugal (1964), Yugoslavia (1968), Morocco (1963) and Tunisia (1965). At one million, the first peak level of foreign labour was reached in 1966. "Ausländerpolitik" in the Federal Republic of Germany was based on the assumption at that time that the foreign workers were only coming to the Federal Republic of Germany on a temporary basis, and, as a general rule, were not interested in their families joining them and, once they had earned enough money in accordance with their wishes, would return home. The ideal "Gastarbeiter" (guest-workers) were in the prime of life, healthy, single and intent on returning to their native land. For the most part, they took on poorly-paid jobs which were lacking in any form of prestige and fraught with risk — thus providing their German colleagues with opportunities of promotion to better positions.

In the years that followed, the number of foreign workers grew rapidly. A temporary peak was achieved in 1973: 3,966,200 (6.4 percent) foreign workers were living on federal territory, including Berlin (West). 2,595,000 of these were gainfully employed. Their percentage of 11.6 of all employed persons represented the highest level ever achieved.

The world economy's years of crisis and the conseqences

The "Oil Crisis" in late 1973 resulted in a deterioration of economic development in the Federal Republic of Germany. In view of the growing unemployment figures, the Bonn Government felt obliged to cease recruitment of foreign workers. Basically, no further foreign nationals have been able to enter the Federal Republic of Germany to take up gainful employment since that time. Citizens from member-countries of the European Community are the exception. The Greeks have enjoyed freedom of movement, employment and residence since 1 January 1998. This will also apply to the Spanish and Portuguese from 1 January 1993.

As a result of discontinued recruitment, the level of foreign labour began to decline from 1974 onwards. The number of foreign workers fell to 9.1 percent (1.9 million). This figure increased slightly to 2.02 million (9.5 percent) in

the years 1979 and 1980 — not least from the fact that many young foreign persons in the Federal Republic of Germany had meantime reached employable age and had started work. The 1974 waiting-time regulation may also have been partly reponsible. According to this regulation foreign workers' dependants who follow on to the Federal Republic of Germany are not entitled to a work or residence permit of unlimited duration until a minimum period of five years has elapsed.

Although the level of foreign labour has been continuously falling since 1973, the trend within the resident population in the Federal Republic of Germany is experiencing the opposite. Whereas 4 million foreigners (6.4 percent) were living in the Federal Republic in 1973, this figure had grown to 4.7 million (7.6 percent) by 1982. The reasons for this are an increase in the number of families moving to the Federal Republic, the high birthrate among foreigners and the growth in the number of those persons seeking or being granted asylum — mainly from countries in Africa, Southeast Asia and areas of tension in the Arab world. Between 1980 an annual average of 100,000 persons seeking asylum made their way to the Federal Republic of Germany. Admittedly, only 15 percent of them were granted official asylum.

On the one hand, the rapid drop in the number of foreign workers since 1980 is linked with the continuing problem of unemployment which came to 10 percent early 1988. On the other hand, the aim of the Federal Government's Repatriation Promotion Act in 1983 was to provide foreign workers with an incentive to return home possibly earlier than planned. Foreigners who made the necessary application by 30 June 1984 were awarded a lump sum of DM 10,500 and DM 1,500 for each child for this readiness to return to their native land. Studies have revealed, however, that, basically, only those foreigners availed themselves of the Federal Government's offer who had planned to return home anyway. In 1984, "Ausländerstatistik" (statistics of foreign nationals) revealed a negative migration balance of 214,000. In other words, there were that many more foreigners leaving Germany than arriving as new immigrants. This development was of short duration, however. From 1985 the size of the foreign population grew once more — to 4.63 million by December 1987. This was 118,000 or three percent more than the previous year.

According to statistics published by the Wiesbaden-based Federal Statistics Office, the Turks — at 1,481 million — represented the largest group (32 percent), followed by the Yugoslavs (598,000), Italians (544,000), Greeks (280,000), Spaniards (147,000) and Poles (142,000).

The policy of restricted entry and the promotion of the willingness to return home was continued by the Federal Government on the grounds that the integration of foreigners wisning to go on living in the Federal Republic of Germany could be successfully pursued. The "Kommission Ausländerpolitik", a commission concerned with policy in regard to foreigners and consisting of representatives of the Federal Government, the Bundesländer (states) and local authorities, issued a similarly-worded statement in February 1983. Thus the social integration of foreigners in the second and third generation represents the main objective of "Ausländerpolitik" in the 1980s. This process of integration is regarded as both a state and a social responsibility.

Foreign nationals' children

Integration into the German education system aimed for

Of the 4.6 million foreigners living in the Federal Republic of Germany (2.06 million adult males and 1.5 million women), 60 percent of them have been resident here for ten or more years. Three-quarters of all foreigners hail from the "Anwerbeländer" (recruitment countries) — principally Turkey, Italy, Spain, Yugoslavia and Greece. The age pattern and family structure have changed considerably over the years: whereas, at the beginning of the influx of foreign workers, a relatively large number of the "Gastarbeiter", as they are popularly known, were unmarried, or had left their families at home, the ratio of foreign men to foreign women is now almost equal. 85 percent of married foreigners, who have children, now live with their children in the Federal Republic of Germany. The majority of these children and young persons were born in the Federal Republic — 60 percent of those under 16 years of age. For the first time, however, the birthrate among foreigners has been falling since the early 1980s.

Younger foreign nationals, in particular, seem to be adjusting their generative behaviour more and more to that of their German counterparts. Whereas 80,700 foreign children were born in the Federal Republic in 1980, this figure had dropped to 54,800 by 1984. In the period 1974—1982 alone, the registry offices recorded 753,600 births of foreigners' children, i.e. 83,700 annually.

According to a sample survey by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Foundation) in 1985, which is closely associated with the SPD (Social Democratic Party), 78 percent of married foreigners have one to three children. One-third of foreign married couples stated they still had — in some cases grown-up — children in their own country. This is most common in the case of Yugoslavs. The reason given by the parents living in the Federal Republic of Germany is mainly school attendance: Yugoslavs and Portuguese, in particular, attach great value to their children having their school education in their own countries. 14 percent of all foreign nationals are also planning to send their children to school in their country of origin.

There has been a shift among foreign children resident in the Federal Republic towards older age groups. In 1980, 54 percent of foreigners' children were 11 years old or younger: this figure is no more than 40 percent today. In 1973, 640,000 foreign children and teenagers under fifteen were living here: by 1984 this figure had grown to one million — 22.5 percent of the entire foreign population. According to the Federal Statistics Office, there were 1,024,191 children and young persons under 16 years of age living on federal territory in 1987.

With this increase in the number of foreign children and young persons in the Federal Republic of Germany, the question of their schooling and resultant problems became an important subject of discussion both for the youngsters themselves and the German education system. "Ausländerpolitik" was now faced with a new challenge.

It was not until fifteen years after the initial recruitment of foreign workers that their children were given full recognition. From 1970 onwards, the first voluntary initiatives and self-help groups received financial assistance from the public purse for help with homework: on 15 May 1964, the Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Bundesländer (German acronym: KMK) published its first re-

Foreign children in the Federal Republic of Germany are also subject to compulsory school attendance. Two new pupils with their "cornets" filled with goodies, traditionally given to children on their first day at school in Germany.

commendations in a resolution entitled "Unterricht für Kinder von Ausländern" (Instruction for Foreigners' Children). In this resolution, the Bundesländer undertook to do all within their power to get foreign children to attend German schools. To ease their entry, additional instruction in the German language was to be given — wherever possible in special preclasses. Last, but not least, promotion of the children's mother-tongue was also emphasized. This affected a mere 21,000 foreign children at the time. The next KMK recommendation in 1971 was aimed at foreign children acquiring final school certificates in greater measure — in the same way as German children and young persons.

Attempts to integrate foreign pupils in normal German classes created great problems at that time, simply because teachers and school administrations had no previous experience to fall back on in this connection. It was not until 1975 and 1976 that the first model programmes were set up at federal (Bund) and regional (Länder) level; language courses, "Maßnahmen zur sozialen Eingliederung" (Measures for Social Integration/MSE), later "Maßnahmen zur beruflichen und sozialen Eingliederung" (Measures for Vocational and Social Integration/MBSE) and other courses (qualification courses, Hauptschule/Main School final certificate courses, at Volkshochschulen/Adult Education Centres, for example) were incorporated. In 1980, the Bonn Federal Ministry of Education and Science launched model experiments designed to promote the training of young foreigners in recognized qualified trades.

Today, foreign children are subject to ten years compulsory schooling in the Federal Republic of Germany, even if they have completed obligatory school requirements in their own country. The problems of integrating the second generation of foreigners into schools in the 1970s seem to habe been largely overcome — even if not all have been solved satisfactorily.

In the 1986/87 academic year, 811,000 foreign pupils attended general or vocational education schools in the Federal Republic of Germany. This was 24,100 more than the year before and meant that the foreign-pupil percentage of the total school population came to 8.5. The KMK thus established a new peak level. In 1970, the proportion of foreign children attending German schools amounted to 1.7 percent, in 1980 6.3 percent and in 1985 8 percent.

82 percent of all foreign pupils come from the six principal countries of origin: Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Turkey and Yugoslavia. 49 percent of them are Turks. 84 percent of foreign children (1970/71 academic year: 22 percent) attended general education schools and 16 percent vocational schools. Thus an almost 100-percent attendance quota has been achieved in the case of the six to sixteen year olds.

As far as the distribution according to types of school is concerned, the trend established some years ago has continued. More and more foreign children and young persons are attending Realschulen (Intermediate Schools) and Gymnasien (Grammar Schools) as the following statistics reveal (the percentual change compared with 1985 is given in brackets): Grundschule (Primary School) 39.5 percent (– 1.1), Hauptschule (Main School) 28.4 percent (– 0.2), Realschule (Intermediate School) 7.7 percent (+ 0.4), Gymnasium (Grammar School) 8.5 percent (+ 0.2), Sonderschule (Special School) 6 percent (± 0) and Gesamt- und Freie Waldorfschulen (Comprehensive and Independent Waldorf Schools) 5.8 percent (+ 0.5)

At 16.6 percent, the proportion of foreign children was highest at the Gesamt- und Waldorfschulen.[1)] It came to 15.8 at Hauptschulen, 12,0 percent at Grundschulen, 15.4 percent at Sonderschulen, 5.4 percent at Realschulen and 3.5 percent at Gymnasien. These average percentages for the whole of the Federal Republic of Germany obscure the fact that a very different picture of the foreign-pupil proportion at schools presents itself in Bundesländer and cities with a larger foreign-population density.

Proportion of foreigners in schools: regional differences

The highest foreign-population density in schools ist to be found in Berlin (West). Here, the average proportion of foreign pupils comes

1 **Gesamtschule:** The Gesamtschule (Comprehensive School) combines under one roof all three types of school in the traditional school system in the Federal Republic of Germany: Hauptschule, Realschule and Gymnasium. The aim of the Gesamtschule is to provide common basic education for all children and to take as many children as possible to an intermediate educational level by not committing them to a specific educational course prematurely. Particular value is attached to optional and achievement differentiation according to the inclinations and abilities of the pupils.

Freie Waldorfschule: The Federation of German Waldorf Schools runs its own officially approved private schools in the Federal Republic of Germany. These schools are based on the educational theories of anthroposophist Rudolf Steiner: they have their own curriculum and own teacher training.

to a good 33 percent at Grund- und Hauptschulen — and over 70 percent in various municipal districts such as Kreuzberg, Wedding or Neukölln.

There are also considerable differences in regard to the distribution among the types of school. The average proportion of foreign children at Sonderschulen[1] came to 15.4 percent in 1987 (1985: 13.7 percent).

The figures fluctuate from Bundesland to Bundesland: 24 percent in Baden-Württemberg, 6 percent in Schleswig-Holstein. There are also differences in regard to the nationality of special-school pupils: only 4 percent of the Yugoslav pupils attend these schools for children with learning problems — compared with 9 percent of the Italian children. Professor Diether Hopf, from the Max Planck Institute of Educational Research, Berlin (West), considers the freedom of movement enjoyed by foreigners from the European-Community countries as a hitherto underestimated interference factor: freedom of movement — with unlimited residence and work permits — is leading in the case of the Italians, for example, to more frequent to-and-froing between their native land and the Federal Republic of Germany every few years. This means a change of school and language on each occasion with the result that the children are shuffled off to Sonderschulen because of their learning and language problems.

The latest KMK statistics show that the number of foreign nationals at "berufliche Schulen" (Vocational Schools) came to 123,000 in 1986/87, representing an increase of 6,300 pupils (+5.4 percent). 68 percent (+1.1) attended a Berufsschule (Vocational School), 15.3 percent (+0.5) a Berufsfachschule (Full-time Vocational School), 6.4 percent (−1.4) completed the Berufsvorbereitungsjahr (BVJ)[2] and 4.5 percent the Berufsgrundbildungsjahr. (BGJ)[3] Fachoberschulen (Senior Technical Schools) and Fachgymnasien (Technical Grammar Schools): 3,9 percent (+0.1) and other types of Vocational Training Schools: 1.8 percent (−0.1). At 4 percent, the number of foreigners at all the various types of afore-mentioned vocational schools is considerably below the proportion found at general education schools.

Achievement quotas of foreign pupils

The school leaving certificate (Schulabschluß) is one of the most serious problems in regard to the scholastic situation of foreign children and young persons. 55,100 foreign pupils left school in the 1986/87 academic year, 3.2 percent more than 1985. The following statistics offer a picture of the final certificate situation (a comparison with the 1985 figures in given once more in brackets):

A Hauptschule (Main School) leaving certificate was obtained by 49 percent (+ 0.1); 19.8 percent (−2.3) failed to do so. A Realschule (Intermediate School) leaving certificate was obtained by 20.7 percent (+2.1), Abitur (Higher School Certificate and university entrance) by 5.2 percent (−0.2) and Fachoberschulreife (qualifying pupils to attend two further years at a Fachoberschule which offers various subjects from engineering to design) by 0.3 percent (+0.1). 5 percent of all foreign school leavers in 1987 left Sonderschulen für Lernbehinderte (Special Schools for pupils with learning handicaps) (+0.2).

Efforts to improve the education and training situation of the children of foreign workers living on federal territory have resulted in a certain amount of success in recent years as revealed in certain educational sectors. At a present-day figure of 52,750 (1977: 17,400), the number of foreign pupils attending Realschule has trebled, and at 58,200 at Gymnasium (1977: 29,900) doubled. One positive development worthy of note ist undoubtedly the fact that now only about 20 percent of foreign pupils leave Hauptschule without a certificate. In the 1975/76 academic year, the proportion of foreign pupils leaving school without a certificate was almost 75 percent in Baden-Württemberg and some 65 percent in Berlin (West). Even in 1980, 57 percent of the foreign pupils in Berlin (West) failed to obtain their final certificate and half in Northrhine-Westphalia left on completing Class/Grade 10.

Whereas almost 60 percent of all pupils at schools in the Federal Republic of Germany acquire a Realschule leaving certificate or Hochschulreife (university entrance qualification) to-

1 **Sonderschulen:** these schools are designed for children who, because of particular learning difficulties or physical and/or mental handicaps, cannot follow instruction at normal schools (Regelschulen) and who are reliant on special learning aids.

2 **Berufsvorbereitungsjahr (BVJ)** is designed to prepare pupils who, on leaving school, are still not in a position to start on a course of trade training. Vocational-preparatory measures are offered partly by schools, and partly by facilities belonging to private education organizations or individual firms.

3 **Berufsgrundbildungsjahr (BGJ)** is offered partly in scholastic form and partly in cooperative form by schools and firms jointly. It is only recognized as part of vocational training if certain conditions are fulfilled.

day, no more than 26 percent of foreign pupils manage to do so. This is why the 1971 KMK resolution stated: "...to assist foreign children to obtain the same leaving certificates as German children and young persons." A whole series of measures were taken to realize this goal. Even so, as the latest figures show, foreign pupils have still not been able to acquire the complete equality of opportunity enjoyed by their German counterparts.

There are several reasons for this according to the experts:

- Children moving to the Federal Republic of Germany in later years often come to grief because of their inadequate knowledge of German.

- Although education and training motivation has generally increased — and continues to do so — not all parents of foreign children in the Federal Republic of Germany display interest in their off-springs acquiring scholastic qualifications and undergoing trade training.

- The varying regional distribution of the foreign population in the Federal Republic of Germany is particularly detrimental to the school situation in regard to foreign children: out of a total of 1.02 million children under 16 years of age, almost 350,000, more than a third, in other words, go to school in Northrhine-Westphalia, 207,000 in Baden-Württemberg and 134,000 in Bavaria. There are 50,000 in Berlin (West). The majority of foreign children go to Hauptschule which is being less and less attended by German children and so developing into a "Hauptausländerschule" (Main School for Foreigners). In the opinion of many teachers, normal instruction in classes, in which more than one-third are foreigners, is just not possible. The quality of teaching suffers as a result.

- Last, but not least, many teachers, education spokesmen and educators blame "Ausländerpolitik" (see above) for the fact that nowadays "the significance of the problems still existing in the education sector are being too easily overlooked". In this connection, a publication by the Deutsches Jugendinstitut (DJI), Munich, comments on the situation of foreign children in the Federal Republic of Germany: "The foreigner-problem has been solved by propagating repatriation; in anticipation of the future, the foreigners remaining here are regarded as integrated or assimilated federal citizens. This official solution is confident that the difficulties occurring during the process of integration of children and young persons will solve themselves..."

Foreign children at kindergarten

Pedagogical concepts

The kindergarten as a place of integration has played a prominent part in recent years in the discussion on the best way to provide foreign children with promotive assistance in the German education system, and in foreigner-research (Ausländerforschung). All pedagogical concepts regard the joint education of German and foreign children as the best way to rapprochement and understanding. In the view of the parents, politicians, associations and educators concerned, the elementary level (preschool) undeniably offers the best prerequisites and points of departure in respect of equal participation by all children in the educative process — compared with the various other levels in education system in the Federal Republic of Germany. In this regard, the kindergarten offers two advantages: small children are more receptive, as a general rule, to foreign languages and senses of value. In addition, kindergarten offers conditions in which grades or success exert no direct pressure. There is therefore a large measure of agreement on the value of kindergarten as the place for the early integration of foreign children into the German education system.

A recently published report by the Bund-Länder-Kommission für Bildungsplanung und Forschungsförderung (BLK), a mixed federal and state commission concerned with educational planning and the advancement of research, on "Model Experiments for the Promotion and Integration of Foreign Children and Young Persons into the Education System" (Bonn-Oedekoven 1987) explains, "...how important attendance of a preschool facility of this type is for the subsequent school career: all children

who have been to kindergarten then attend school. 90 percent of them join a normal class of whom, in turn, 84 percent enter normal classes with a high proportion of German children and young persons. In other words: following attendance of a kindergarten, integration into a relatively homogeneous German school class is almost unproblematic."

Based on the importance which attendance of kindergarten apparently implies for foreign children, the current situation seems to have distinctly improved — but still not completely satisfactorily in the view of those concerned.

According to details published by the Federal Statistics Office, there were 320,000 foreign children under the age of six (1981: 410,000) living in the Federal Republic of Germany, half of whom were Turks, in1987. The current 22,648 kindergartens (1980: 24,011) in the federal area were attended by 1,450,000 children of preschool age in 1986. Even though there are no later statistics available federal-wide, the DJI was nevertheless able to identify an unmistakable trend: whereas no more than 30 percent of foreign children attended an elementary level facility in 1975, this figure had risen to almost 60 percent by 1984. Admittedly, at this time, 78 percent of German three to under six year olds were attending kindergarten. Even so, thereafter only 20 percent of the German children — compared with 40 percent of the foreign children — attended no form of preschool facility. According to the latest sample poll by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, however, 94.5 percent of foreign parents with children under six years of age want their offsprings to attend kindergarten.

Kindergarten as an integration aid

In the view of education experts, the living conditions of foreign families in the Federal Republic of Germany, the working hours of the parents, plans in regard to returning to their own country and reservations on religious grounds probably play a less important role among the reasons which could dissuade foreign parents from sending their children to kindergarten. The problems are more likely to stem from the fact that the basic material and pedagogical requirements for education duties in the elementary sector are no longer of the first order. Although local authorities and other bodies responsible for kindergartens actively canvassed foreign parents up to 1980, pointing out the necessity of

Catholic parishioners and Caritas are looking after persons seeking asylum in Jüchen on the Lower Rhine. Photo: a Tamil family with the German person taking care of them.

kindergarten-attendance as an integration-aid for their children, financial bottlenecks and the subsequent economy wave were responsible for the more or less abrupt suspension of the kindergarten reform which started in the 1970s.

Instead of the exemption from charges, as originally planned for kindergartens, the contribution paid by parents has been increased, the possibilities of all-day care curtailed. Furthermore, economy in regard to play and work material has been practised in many places since that time. Today, there are hardly any purely national kindergartens or groups within these day nurseries: they are simply rejected by the responsible authority on the grounds that they "hamper the children's orientation in German society".

Apart from the rather restricted framework conditions for kindergartens in the Federal Republic of Germany, daily practice "on site" in the various facilities displays quite encouraging aspects, in the opinion of educators and researches. In many cases, one could speak of a matter-of-course integration of foreign children and their families into kindergartens. Many of the female kindergarten staff, despite the numerous difficulties which still exist, have established a satisfactory form of dealing with foreign children and parents which stems from their pedagogical image. Within the context of in-service training events, pilot schemes and more often than not on their own bat, German kindergarten staff endeavoured to obtain information on their charges' native lands and to better understand the reasons for the parents' emigration, and then to work this knowledge into the daily round. Following a further training course at the Deutsches Jugendinstitut, for example, a female member of staff at a Munich day nursery, stated: "I now have a quite different relationship with Turks. I have never concerned myself so intensively with the country, with the situation of Turks here and there, with their language and family problems. I have learnt how to approach Turks."

On the one hand, kindergarten is regarded as a place offering a compensating effect vis-à-vis deficitary living conditions and is able to support and supplement family upbringing in important areas. On the other hand, persons working in this sector point out that the situation in kindergartens is still not completely without problems. The DJI study published mid-1988 states: "Although the present generation of foreign children attending kindergarten were almost all born in the Federal Republic of Germany and have grown up here, language development in the initial years of life is restricted to the mother-tongue because of the very narrow fixation on the family area and the frequently ghetto-like accomodation situation. The initial difficulties are, as a result, the same as they were in the 1970s when the majority of foreign children came straight from their own country to kindergarten."

Foreign children and school: manifold possibilities

Only "Paßausländer" or Germans?

"A normalization of school career is beginning to develop for the second and third generation of foreigners which is particularly rooted in the positive results of the numerous and manifold pilot schemes in the promotive sector 'Foreign children and young persons'." This optimistic observation is contained in the BLK's (see above) latest analytic report on pilot schemes which, all in all, have been running since the mid-1970s and devoted to the promotion and integration of foreign children and young persons into the German education system — from kindergarten to university. On the other hand, other views can also be heard in regard to the question of foreign children's school problems: "It would be a great mistake to think that, because 85 percent of the foreign children living in the Federal Republic of Germany were born here, they are merely 'Paßausländer' (foreigners by dint of their passport only) and, in reality, Germans. Additional promotive measures will also be indispensable for these children in future." This was stated, for example, by an official from a supervisory school authority in Baden-Württemberg, in the knowledge that this view is shared by many a school practitioner.

On the one hand, the inconsistencies in the exposition of the problems show that the integration of foreign children into the German school system has made definite progress compared with the 1960s and 1970s. This is supported not least by the pupil statistics published by the KMK. On the other hand, the more critical voices feel that, despite the countless endeav-

The Federal Government and the Bundesländer (states) wish to achieve full equality of opportunity for foreign children at school and their profession. Photo: Foreign children receiving German language instruction.

ours to evolve strategies aimed at complete equality of opportunity on the part of young foreigners vis-à-vis their German colleagues, this is still not the case.

This raises the question as to what efforts, what strategies have been undertaken in the schools sector — in the last 25 years — to provide foreign children with better and easier access to the German education system. True, it is literally impossible to answer this question anything like comprehensively. The cultural sovereignty of the Bundesländer, the varying degree of influence exerted by particular regional and local circumstances and, in some cases, the large measure of freedom granted to education authorities and individual schools in the implementation of overlapping concepts has resulted and is still resulting in a situation where the German school round — as far as the treatment of foreign children is concerned — offers a highly colourful and multifarious picture. Be that as it may, the guidelines and recommendations by the KMK — which have been modified several times over the years — have acted as a central base line for all this manifoldness. They are set out below.

Foreigners and compulsory school attendance

Problems connected with the school education of foreign children did not first concern the Bundesländer in the Federal Republic of Germany with the onset of the "Gastarbeiter" boom in the late 1950s. There were relevant resolutions by the KMK on the "Errichtung von Schulen für fremde Volksgruppen" (The setting up of schools for foreign ethnic groups) in 1950, "Schulpflicht für Ausländer" (Compulsory school attendance for foreigners) in 1952 and the "Vereinbarung über die Voraussetzungen zur Zulassung ausländischer Schulen im Gebiet der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und in Berlin" (Agreement on the basic requirements for the admission of foreign schools on the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany and Berlin) in 1957. But, by 1962, the German "Städtetag" — the German Cities' Assembly — had suggested that there should be an exchange of experience in regard to the school situation of foreign children. The report prepared at that time seems in no way antiquated when read today — 26 years later: the foreign children created problems because of their inadequate knowledge of

German. They were often put in classes two years below their age level, they were something of a burden in normal instruction. Even so, special mention is made of the good performance level and progress of these children. The setting up of central foreign collective classes was rejected. "Summing up, it can be said," according to this Städtetag Report, "that there have been apparently no insuperable obstacles in the absorption of foreign children into the German school system up to this time."

But the ever growing number of foreign pupils in the Federal Republic of Germany (1965: 35,000; 1970: 160,000) also increased the problems.

In 1964, the KMK turned its attention to the school problems of the (then) 21,000 foreign children of school age and approved its recommendation on "Unterricht für Kinder von Ausländern" (see above) in May of the same year. There were two prominent basic concepts in this recommendation:

- Foreign children are subject to compulsory school attendance in the same way as German children. They will be completely absorbed into German schools.

- Foreign children are entitled to the preservation and promotion of their mother-tongue.

The first of these concepts resulted in the setting up of special classes — known as "Vorklassen" or preclasses — in which foreign children were to receive instruction in the German language to the point where they could take part in normal classes together with their German schoolmates. It was here that the two terms "Deutsch als Fremdsprache" (German as a foreign language) and "Deutsch als Zweitsprache" (German as a second language) first made their appearance in the German school system. But the question of responsibility for this instruction and its organization in schools was left entirely to the school administrations in the individual Bundesländer.

In the KMK resolution in December 1971, the integration of foreign children into German schools became the focal point whilst the measures designed to preserve and promote the foreign children's mother-tongue were pushed more into the background. It is stated, among other things:

- Foreign children, who first become liable for compulsory school attendance in the Federal Republic of Germany, should, wherever possible, take part in normal lessons with German children right from the start.

- Foreign children, who, according to their age, belong to one of the classes between two and nine, but who cannot take part in normal lessons because of inadequate knowledge of the German language, must be combined into preparatory classes.

- All foreign children and young persons should be given the opportunity to take part in supplementary instruction in their mother-tongue.

- In-service further training for German teachers should bear in mind the special duties involved in the teaching of foreign children.

Reintegration in the country of origin

The last KMK resolution in October 1979 emphasized anew the recommendations on increased education of foreign pupils in their mother-tongue. Since that time, school authorities in conurbations of foreign workers are permitted to set up homogeneous classes in which specific subjects can be taught in the mother-tongue over a period of years.

Special help is offered for the integration of foreign pupils into secondary schools (weiterführende Schulen). There are additional lessons for the German language whilst the pupils can choose their own mother-tongue as the compulsory foreign language.

Furthermore, mixed commissions consisting of representatives of school administrations and those of the countries of pupils' origin were also set up: in bilateral talks they were to ensure the despatch of experienced and well-trained teachers to the Federal Republic of Germany, the recognition of school achievements and leaving certificates realized in the Federal Republic of Germany by the pupils' own countries and a smooth reintegration of foreign pupils when returning to their native land.

True, even today there is still a lack of comprehensive studies of the school situation of foreign pupils. One thing is certain, however: the school successes achieved by foreign children and young persons — and their failures — are attributable to the manner in which each of the eleven Bundesländer implemented the KMK guidelines. These KMK resolutions, which have been supplemented in each case, are characterized by the endeavour to legitimize in retro-

spect, so to speak, the variously "developed" points of departure in the schooling of foreign children in the Bundesländer. The setting up of special foreign pupils' classes, for example, was already normal practice in Berlin (West) and Bavaria prior to the 1979 KMK resolution. Moreover, according to one passage in the KMK recommendations, the Bundesländer are free to try out other forms of scholastic promotion of young foreign pupils. This has produced extremely varied results as a few examples from the daily school round of foreign children show.

Shuffled off to Sonderschule — a "cul-de-sac"?

In the 1979 KMK Agreement on "Unterricht für Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer" (Instruction for the children of foreign employees) it states: "Inadequate knowledge of the German language is not a criterion for the need to attend a Sonderschule (Special/Remedial School). In order to counter incorrect decisions, pupils, as a general rule, should be kept under observation in class for a minimum of ten weeks before transfer to Sonderschule is even considered." In addition, individual examination of the pupils concerned by the Sonderschule — in the presence of parents — is stipulated and is designed to test the pupils' degree of eloquence in German and the mother-tongue, intelligence, stamina and powers of concentration. This is the way the general guidelines have been set out for the procedure to be adopted whenever a foreign child is to be transferred from Grundschule (Primary School) to Sonderschule because of learning difficulties.

This uniform regulation for all the Bundesländer, however, is leading to highly differing results. In Baden-Württemberg (12 percent foreign pupils) and Berlin (West) (20 percent foreign pupils), the number of foreign children attending a Sonderschule has fluctuated — with a rising tendency — between 20 and 25 percent since 1980. In Bavaria, Lower Saxony, the Saarland and Schleswig-Holstein — even though the numbers are slightly on the increase — they have been fluctuating between 5 and 9.5 percent. The proportion of foreign children attending Sonderschulen in the remaining Bundesländer varies between 12 and 18 percent.

This development is no longer something which is merely concerning foreign parents. Embassies and consulates of the countries concerned — together with many German education experts — complain that Grundschule teachers in many of the Bundesländer "shuffle off" their young charges "too quickly" and "too irresponsibly" to Sonderschulen, often only because of language difficulties. Sufficient attention, they claim, is not always paid to the foreign children's need of promotive treatment. A KMK spokesman pointed out that in the opinion of the KMK, language problems are "still not regarded as a reason" to transfer children to Sonderschule. The "sometimes large number" of foreign pupils at Sonderschule is attributable "to the particular social situation" of these children.

In Bavaria, for example, which has the same quota of foreign children as Baden-Württemberg, they swear by the bilingual-class model practised throughout the state since the mid-1970s. Foreign parents frequently take advantage of the opportunity to let their child initially learn German as a foreign language at Grundschule. Concomitant with this, all other subjects are taught in the mother-tongue by Turkish, Italian, Greek, Spanish teachers — and those of other nationalities. The mother-tongue is subsequently learnt as a foreign language at Hauptschule. In this way, the typical twin disadvantage of being a "lower class child" and having to experience school for the first time in a foreign culture is removed.

Although young foreigners are also taught in their mother-tongue at schools in Baden-Württemberg, this only takes place in the afternoon. Supplementary tuition in the German language usually comes off badly within the framework of normal instruction. This Bundesland is now endeavouring, however, to provide foreign children with promotive measures such as additional language instruction and help with homework in the Grundschule, in an effort to lower the high Sonderschule quotas.

Digression: intelligence tests

A recent psychological dissertation at the University of Cologne concerned itself in detail with the school situation of foreign, particularly Turkish, children in the Federal Republic of Germany, paying special attention to the intelligence tests designed to determine whether a child should transfer from Grundschule to Sonderschule. First, the established point of departure: although some 85 percent of the foreign children living in the Federal Republic of Germany were born here, 52 percent of them speak German so badly that they can hardly follow in

Foreign children and juveniles have the opportunity to preserve their native culture and cultivate knowledge of their mother tongue. Photo: Turkish juveniles in a native culture lesson.

class. The daily round of Turkish pupils: little access to books, little help with homework, poor living conditions with the resultant concentration difficulties, the burden of having to look after younger brothers and sisters. It is against this background that school aptitude tests take place, prepared by members of the German middle class.

The pupils are asked who wrote "Faust". A lower-class Turkish child will not be able to answer this question. Or "Why is it generally better to donate money to a welfare organization than to a beggar?", "Why do we celebrate Easter?". There ist no Easter in Islam, and the Koran lays down that alms should be given to beggars.

The tests using pictures and drawings are not more enlightening either. A Turkish child is called on to indicate the odd-one-out in a group of animals consisting of a cow, pig, hen, dog and elephant. In other words domestic animals in which, in a German child's mind, the elephant is the odd-one-out. 80 percent of the Turkish children, however, put a cross against the pig because it is an unclean animal in their culture. As far as they are concerned, this a logical and mentally correct answer: but it is the wrong one as far as the test is concerned.

The Gesamtschule model

The Gesamtschule (Comprehensive School), which embraces all three traditional forms of school (Hauptschule, Realschule, Gymnasium) in the German education system under one roof, has been a bone of contention in German education policy for years. Nevertheless, those Bundesländer with a Social-Democratic government continue to promote this type of school. Although such schools also exist in Bundesländer with a Christian-Democratic government, they tend to scrape along on the fringe — with the exception of Lower Saxony and Berlin (West) where the Christian-Democrats continue to maintain the Gesamtschulen set up by the SPD. A pilot study published in 1986 on the role of the Gesamtschule in respect of the scholastic integration of foreign children (University of Mannheim) — the only study of its kind to date — made some interesting findings. The course taken by the 1979/80 school year group at the Integrierte Gesamtschule Mannheim-Herzogenried, who had transferred there from Grundschule, was observed. 36 percent of the German pupils had been recommended for Gymnasium or Realschule as opposed to only 4 percent of their foreign schoolmates. The development of this school year group showed that

these differences were levelled out within a short time. Out of the 16 foreign pupils who had come to the Gesamtschule with a recommendation for Hauptschule, 13 were following a Realschule course and two were even preparing for Abitur (Higher School Certificate usually obtained at Gymnasium and providing university entrance) in 1984. True, this study is not exactly representative. Even so, the Mannheim experts feel they are qualified to say: "The Gesamtschule is particularly suitable for the scholastic integration of foreign children."

New teaching concepts for foreign children

Experience in Northrhine-Westphalia — where every ninth pupil was a foreign national in the 1987/88 school year — shows how the broad latitude of the KMK guidelines can be used for the further development of existing concepts.

Almost 35 percent of foreign children in this state are now leaving school with a Realschule final certificate or a university entrance qualification (federal average: 25 percent). In this connection, the proportion of foreigners at schools in this Bundesland fluctuates — depending on the region — between 2 and 40 percent. For ten long years, up to 1982, the concept had been rigidly adhered to in Northrhine-Westphalia that foreign pupils should obtain wherever possible school certificates corresponding to the level of the school in their own country and, simultaneously, of the German school. This was to make their return home possible at any time. Instruction in purely foreign-national classes was increased. The result was that foreigners were separated from their German schoolmates, tending to make their difficulties in learning German even greater.

Since 1982, however, the concept in Northrhine-Westphalia has been as follows:

- Learning the German language has priority;
- The joint instruction of German and foreign children has priority over all other organizational forms;
- In mixed normal classes promotive measures will be carried out for foreign and German pupils in like manner;
- Instruction in the mother-tongue and "Landeskunde" (geography, history, culture etc of a country) ist offered in addition to normal lessons.

In this context, local authorities and schools enjoyed a broad degree of latitude based on the realization that a best-possible form of organization for all in equal measure is unattainable. Thus the situation at schools in Northrhine-Westphalia has been changed as follows:

- The number of preparatory classes for foreigners has dropped from 2,934 in 1980 to 401;
- Whereas in 1980 35 percent of foreign pupils were still being taught separately from German pupils, this figure is no more than 5 percent today;
- The number of those taking part in supplementary instruction in the mother-tongue has risen from 40 percent in 1980 to 70 percent at present;

(and last, but not least, it is now possible in Northrhine-Westphalia — the only state so far — for pupils to take Turkish as a subject for their Abitur [Higher School Certificate] at a Gymnasium in Gelsenkirchen).

Other Bundesländer have also undertaken similar efforts and achieved similar results. In many places the results have been very impressive whereas other places have had disappointing experience in isolated cases. One inevitably gains the impression that the German education system has taken 25 years to adjust to the situation of the steadily growing number of foreign children and young persons.

Model experiments to improve the education situation

In the Foreign Children and Young Persons Sector, the broad promotion pilot schemes by the Bund-Länder-Kommission für Bildungsplanung und Forschungsförderung/BLK (see above) have helped improve the situation. In the last 15 years, since the mid-1970s, the BLK has carried out 85 model experiments in the individual Bundesländer and evaluated the findings. These have been largely instrumental in helping the education system in the Federal Republic of Germany to be better able, year by year, to teach and educate young foreigners at its institutions.

The model experiments were divided into four subject areas: assistance in the integration of foreign children into the German education system — the safeguarding of qualified leaving certificates for foreign children — development

and try-out of curricula and teaching materials for the advancement of foreign children — training and further training of skilled personnel in respect of the advancement of foreign children.

The subject of the individual model experiments ranged from "Ausländerkinder im Kindergarten — Erarbeitung von Materialien" (Foreign children in kindergarten — Compilation of materials) in Lower Saxony via "Modell zur schrittweisen schulischen Eingliederung von Kindern und Jugendlichen fremder Muttersprache" (Model for the gradual scholastic integration of children and young persons with a foreign mother-tongue) in the Rhineland-Palatinate, and "Tageskolleg zum nachträglichen Erwerb des Hauptschulabschlusses mit Schwerpunkt für ausländische Jugendliche" (Day courses for the acquisition of a Main School leaving certificate with the emphasis on foreign young persons) in Northrhine-Westphalia, to "Entwicklung eines Aufbaustudiengangs zur Weiterqualifikation zur Betreuung ausländischer Kinder, Jugendlicher und Erwachsener" (Development of a continuation study course for further qualification in the care of foreign children, young persons and adults) in Baden-Württemberg.

A summarizing evaluation by the Bund-Länder-Kommission in 1987 states: "There is no doubt about the fact that these experimental models in the foreign national sector — with a high level of material and idealistic commitment — have contributed to the improvement of the educational situation of foreign children in all Bundesländer of the Federal Republic of Germany and in all areas of educational activity. When, nowadays, official quarters state that the educational conditions for the children of migrant families have undergone a marked improvement, this is largely due to the promotive effects of the numerous and polymorphic model experiments in the foreigner-sector, apart from the burgeoning normalization of school career for the second and third migrant generations."

In regard to further, future prospects the BLK states: "Two problem areas will emerge in the near future, particularly as far as foreign children and young persons are concerned: the transfer from Grundschule to further school careers — despite the safeguarding of actual (and not only formal) equivalence of final school certificates, as well as the vocational training sector and thus access to the labour market."

The fact that the scholastic situation of foreign children seems to be normalizing — through diverse educational endeavours and favourable (including demographic) developments — has been revealed in a new study. Sociologists David Baker and Gero Lenhardt, both from the Max Planck Institute of Educational Research, Berlin (West), have published surprising findings on the subject of "Integration of Foreigners, School and State": the German school system is well on the way to integrating German and foreign children. There is no suggestion of a caste system separating children into a majority and minorities. Irrespective of the differing priorities established by the individual Bundesländer in regard to the scholastic integration of foreign children, the study states, German and foreign children enjoy equal educational opportunities at Hauptschule, Realschule and Gymnasium. This is apparent in two surprising correlations between the scholastic sucess of Germand and foreign children.

1) German children transfer more frequently to secondary schools when their foreign counterparts fill the places at the bottom end of the educational hierarchy — in the Hauptschule.

2) As the number of German children drops as a result of the declining birthrate in the Feral Republic of Germany, the "lack of young blood" in all school types — as the latest situation indicates — is causing more and more foreign children to attend Realschule or Gymnasium.

The two sociologists come to the conclusion that foreign and German pupils in the Federal Republic of Germany profit from each other, as it were: the presence of a relatively large number of foreign children conditions the school career of their German counterparts. Foreign children in the school system are benefiting from the falling number of German "competitors".

In view of these findings, both education researchers conclude that immigrant children in the Federal Republic of Germany are not being treated according to special criteria: they are enjoying the educational facilities offered on the same level as young Germans.

Ethnic differences have not resulted in the growth of barriers between pupils. This, in the opinion of Lenhardt and Baker, is amply proven by the fact that "the German school system has become the outrider for the integration of foreigners".

Critical voices

But the critical voices remain audible. The 44-year-old Turkish expert for adult education and

head of the department for "Ausländerpädagogik" (education of foreigners) at the Frankfurt/Main Volkshochschule (adult education centre) stated at an education congress organized by the teachers union Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft (GEW) in Hanover in 1986 on the subject of "Integration der Ausländer?" ("Integration of foreigners?"):

"The decision on the part of the majority of us to stay here, after many years residence, is causing the problem to become more and more frequently a social and political potential. Our children, in particular, find themselves in the space between two cultures. Differing ideas of standards and 'Rollenverhalten' (behaviour according to one's social role) characterize an intercultural situation, as do the differences in customs and habits of the native and host lands. It is becoming more and more apparent that the manifold forms of labour emigration or immigration have not been conceptionally considered — at educational or educational-institutional level. This applies equally to higher education institutions which have failed, over a long period of time, to commit themselves to the inclusion of "Ausländerpädagogik" (education of foreigners) in their teacher-training courses and to make due allowance for the existence of an intercultural, educational reality. As a result of inadequate preparation, there is a frequent occurrence of resignation and/or aggressive behaviour on the part of teachers in the education sector who, despite their well-meant and benevolent commitment, are permanently overtaxed because they lack insight into the background of the cultural fields of tension."

More opportunities — but not without worries

The training situation in regard to young foreigners

Vocational training is by far the most important sector of the educational field in the Federal Republic of Germany as far as the younger generation of foreigners is concerned. Since a still relatively small number of young foreigners endeavour to obtain higher educational qualifications, and only about half manage to obtain a Hauptschule leaving certificate, it is obvious that the question of vocational training is more important for them.

"Young foreigners, just like young Germans, have the right to be thoroughly prepared for their professional life and equipped with sound knowledge." These words were spoken by an expert from the Bonn Federal Ministry of Education and Science (BMBW) at a special conference in late 1987 to which the Federal Education Ministry and the Federal Minister of Labour and Social Order had invited representatives of the Federal Government, the Bundesländer, local authorities, employers and trade unions, bodies responsible for work concerned with foreigners, and the embassies of former "Anwerbestaaten" (countries where foreign labour was originally recruited) — Turkey, Greece, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Morocco and Tunisia. The subject of the conference was the seeking of ways to further improve the vocational qualification of foreigners. According to the experts, training opportunities for young foreigners have undergone a welcome improvement. This, they said, was mainly the result of a high level of training motivation on the part of foreign young persons and their parents. In the 1987/88 training year, for instance, some 60,000 young foreigners were undergoing vocational training — almost twice as many as in 1980.

Despite the encouraging course of development, however, the overall training situation of young foreigners was still not satisfactory, the conference concluded. Only one-third of the 213,000 young foreigners (1988) between the ages of 15 and 18 were learning a trade or attending a secondary school. This figure is as much as 90 percent in the case of young Germans.

"Everyone involved in vocational training must continue to make great efforts — now and in the years ahead — to ensure that the marked upward trend persists. This also includes the resolute continuation of the policy of supporting measures for young foreigners wherever such help is required," the State Secretary at the Federal Education Ministry stated. The necessity to motivate is underscored by the statistics published by the Federal Labour Office in Nuremberg: some 90 percent of jobless foreigners under the age of 20, and 80 percent of those between the ages of 20 and 24 have not completed a vocational training course.

The latest Federal Government Vocational Training Report (1987) also shows the continued unsatisfactory training situation in regard to young foreigners. Accordingly, only 24.1 percent

of foreign boys and girls of vocational-school age (15 to 18) are actually undergoing trade training.

That means that almost two-thirds will be without a qualified trade. In this connection, it should be borne in mind that four-fifths of the young foreigners have acquired their final school certificate in the Federal Republic of Germany. The latest figures to be published by the BMBW in November 1987 show that 27,500 young foreigners were receiving handicraft training and 21,400 training in industry and commerce. 8,500 young persons were trained through the Model Experiment Programme for the Qualification of Young Foreigners and the Programme for the Promotion of Vocational Training for Disadvantaged Young Persons, both funded by the Federal Minister of Education and Science. 4,600 foreign young persons obtained their trade qualification at interplant facilities, whilst a further 2,900 were given assistance during their inplant training.

Lower quota of girls undergoing training

At 17 percent, the number of foreign girls undergoing trade training is considerably lower than that of foreign boys (30 percent). At present, almost every third young male — but only every sixth foreign young female — is being trained in a recognized profession. What is more, the foreign girls are only interested in a limited number of typically-female jobs. Almost 60 percent of foreign female apprentices are training for the following three vocational sectors: hairdressing (27 percent), public health service (17 percent) and commerce (13 percent).

The "Koordinierungskreis Ausländischer Arbeitnehmer" (Coordination Circle of Foreign Employees) at the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Order states: "The difficulties generally confronting young women looking for a job are far greater in the case of foreign young females. Consequently, efforts to improve the training situation of young foreigners must, first and foremost, be concentrated on the promotion of foreign girls."

In the experts' view, the reason why foreign girls are so disadvantaged stems principally from the fact that the traditional role of women as wife, housewife and mother is still preserved in many foreign families — particularly Turkish ones. In view of these different religious and cultural concepts of female vocation there is little place for such notions as equality and the independence of women through professional activity.

The fact that young foreigners continue to be at a disadvantage in the vocational training sector vis-à-vis their German counterparts seems surprising in the first instance. After all, they did heed the appeals in recent years to acquire school leaving certificates — as encouraging statistics published by the KMK reveal. It must be borne in mind in this regard, however, that the scholastic prerequisites of young Germans have increasingly improved. The trend to higher school leaving certificates has led, in their case, to a situation where young foreigners leaving Hauptschule frequently have to compete in the apprenticeship market with young Germans in possession of a Realschule leaving certificate or even Abitur (Higher School Certificate).

In addition, because of the high birthrate year groups up to 1986, there was a great surge of young Germans and foreigners into the training sector. Not even every German applicant managed to obtain an apprenticeship. It was not until 1987 that the situation eased and the number of applicants for an apprenticeship was less than the number of training places offered (679,000 applicants for apprenticeships compared with 690,000 training places offered). Thus it looks very much as if young foreigners can reckon on somewhat better opportunities of vocational training in the future.

In Cologne, for instance, in Bundesland Northrhine-Westphalia — a state with a large foreign population — almost every third young person between the ages of 15 and 18 will be a foreigner in 1990. This forecast also highlights the fact that the foreign nationals in the Federal Republic of Germany are becoming an increasingly important factor on the labour market.

Aim: equality of opportunity in the German education system

For the present, however — and all those involved are in agreement on this point — it is a matter of establishing equality of opportunity for foreign children and young persons in the German education and training system. Detailed studies within the framework of the BMBW model programme "Ausländische Jugendliche" (Young Foreigners) produced the following findings: "By and large it can be said that the young foreigners did just as well or better than the young Germans as far as the practical skills (dexterity, registration of form, basic arithmetic) in the vocational aptitude tests were concerned. The results were much worse in the case of verbal and mathematical ability, the ability to think in abstract terms and mechanical-technical understanding. Viewed

overall, the young foreigners in the model projects consequently did not fully meet the normal aptitude criteria of the firms." The report goes on to say: "Young foreigners were brought down by the language requirements which these tests demand as well as by their dependence on their own language and culture."

MBSE: vocational preparation specially for young foreigners

MBSE (Maßnahmen zur Berufsvorbereitung und sozialen Eingliederung junger Ausländer / Measures for the Vocational Preparation and Social Integration of Young Foreigners) has been in existence since 1 January 1980. These measures are funded by the Nuremberg-based Federal Labour Office, the Federal Government and the Bundesländer. The background to these facilities was the realization that the frequently existent educational and linguistic deficits on the part of young foreigners had to be made good before they could undergo normal vocational training. Particularly foreign young persons coming to the Federal Republic of Germany at a later stage are in need of this type of special assistance. In the meantime, some 60,000 young foreign nationals — mainly Turkish — have taken part in the MBSE programme. The declared aim of the programme's one-year course is "... primarily to improve the possibility of obtaining an apprenticeship". The preparatory vocational measures (1,850 instruction periods) are linked with intensive language tuition and sociopedagogical care. The target group for which these measures are intended are young foreigners under 20 years of age who are in possession of a residence permit for the Federal Republic of Germany and are no longer subject to statutory full-time school attendance. The responsible bodies are facilities which provide preparatory vocational training. The main responsible organization is the "Sprachverband — Deutsch für ausländische Arbeitnehmer e.V., Mainz" (Language Association — German for Foreign Employees Inc., Mainz). The MBSE's responsibilities have been clearly set out: "The teaching of vocation-related knowledge and skills, linguistic and general subject matter, including sociopedagogical courses and accompaniment, basically overlapping fields and sectors of learning." MBSE is intended to promote the vocational integration of foreign young persons by enabling them to choose their own career. Basically, the MBSE courses cover three occupational sectors, the selection of which has to take the situation of the labour market into consideration in the economic area concerned.

These, at least, are the framework concepts of the Federal Labour Office. One great advantage of MBSE is the fact that young foreigners taking part in the courses are automatically issued with a work permit. On average, 80 percent of the participants achieve their goal, i. e. they move into vocational training, they obtain an apprenticeship.

In addition, since 1983, the MBSE programme has also offered participants the opportunity to catch up on a missed Hauptschule final certificate. MBSE's importance has suffered a marked decline during the eight years of its existence. Not least because the main group it was designed for — principally young foreigners entering the Federal Republic of Germany at a relatively advanced stage — is growing smaller and smaller. Whereas in the 1980/81 school year, when MBSE was launched, there were 15,000 young foreign participants, the number had dropped to a mere 2,000 by the 1987/88 academic year. Instead, the following programme, likewise initiated by the Federal Education Ministry in 1980, is gaining in importance.

Promotion of vocational training for disadvantaged young persons

This programme is designed for both German and foreign young persons, particularly Hauptschule leavers without a final certificate, Sonderschule leavers, socially underprivileged young persons, such as those with behavioural disturbances, drug addicts and ex-convicts. The basic requirement for participation in the special promotion programme is previous attendance of a vocation-preparatory measure, such as the MBSE, BVJ or the fact that these young persons, despite their occupational preparation, have been unable to find a training place. The Federal Government has earmarked DM 425 million for the Disadvantaged Persons Programme in the 1988 budget — DM 18 million more than last year. Some 33,000 disadvantaged young persons were able to enjoy their training for officially recognized trades within the framework of this programme in 1988 —including 10,000 foreigners. 600 responsible bodies federal-wide, in almost all job-centre areas, are involved in the programme: 4,000 instructors, teachers and social pedagogues are working together with the disadvantaged young persons.

The three-year training takes place either in interplant facilities, i.e. in "learning workshops" specially organized for apprentice train-

Like young Germans, young foreigners are entitled to be thoroughly prepared for their future profession and be equipped with a sound foundation of knowledge. Photo: Young foreigners with their teacher.

ing, or in firms, in which these young persons learn together with other trainees — but who receive supplementary help concomitant with normal training. The core of the programme is an intensive, promotive point of departure: by means of supporting instruction and sociopedagogical help during their vocational training, the scholastic deficits and social difficulties of the disadvantaged young persons, which are still obstructing the path to training success, are to be overcome. These problems can range from orthographic deficencies to difficulties experienced by young persons in fitting into a group.

In the Federal Government's view, this programme was so successful that it was put on a statutory basis on 1 January 1988 and included in the "Arbeitsförderungsgesetz"/AFG (Labour Promotion Act). Two-thirds of disadvantaged young persons successfully complete their training within the framework of the programme: it has proved possible since 1980 to reduce the number of drop-outs quite considerably (from 24 to 16 percent). The Federal Education Ministry finds it highly encouraging that a good three-quarters of those successfully completing the programme subsequently find employment — as high as 83 percent in the case of male participants. Moreover, 63 percent have a job in the trade for which they were trained, or in a related occupation (two-thirds of the young males train to be mechanical engineers, salaried locksmiths, parts fitters, painters and lacquerers, and joiners).

In the case of male foreigners, the results are even better: 80 percent have a job in the trade they have learnt or in a related profession.

The situation of the women, on the other hand, is far less favourable. Only 57 percent of the females completing the Disadvanted Persons Programme succeed in finding a job, or decide to do further training. One reason for this may well be the fact that 75 percent of the participants train to be household managers, dressmakers or saleswoman, i. e. professions which, although typical female, offer poorer prospects of employment.

In the estimation of the Federal Government and vocational training experts, the experience gained from this programme — now in its eighth

year — shows that even though there will be adequate availability of training places in the future, the target group of disadvantaged young persons will still be in need of intensive promotion measures. Despite continual expansion of the programme over the last few years, still no more than half the young persons from the target groups in question can be assisted. Moreover, the experts point out that the high birthrate year groups of young foreigners of vocational training age will continue to remain so in the next few years. Since, however, the number of their German counterparts will continue to fall, the chances of young foreigners to take part in the Disadvantaged Persons Programme will probably increase and thus steadily improve their integration into professional life.

Parallel to the Disadvantaged Persons Programme, the Federal Government launched a further programme in 1980:

Model Experiment programme for the qualification of young foreigners

This programme has also turned out to be successful and its findings have been used to increasingly improve and expand the Disadvantaged Persons Programme. Some 1,000 young foreigners (18 percent of whom were girls) have been trained for officially recognized occupations in a total of 28 model projects, the last of which are coming to an end in 1988. In collaboration with 200 enterprises — large, medium-sized and small firms from industry and commerce, the handicrafts and the liberal professions — ways and methods for the successful training of young foreigners were developed and tried out. The Federal Minister of Education and Science has made DM 22 million available for this project so far.

In these 28 model projects, the boys — mainly Turks and Italians — were, for the most part trained for trades in the metal, electrical, installation, wood, building and mining sectors. In the case of the girls, the occupations were principally hairdresser, retail business woman, lawyer's assistant (doctor's or chemist's assistant). In the estimation of the Federal Education Minister, the model projects have shown that young foreigners — despite language problems and gaps in their knowledge generally — can still be successfully trained by firms. 91 percent of the young foreigners who put their names down for the final examination, passed it successfully. In the meantime, 80 percent of them have obtained skilled worker's jobs.

The special assistance which the young foreign nationals additionally received during their training consisted, as in the case of the Disadvantaged Persons Programme, of language tuition, supplementary instruction to improve their general education and facilitate vocational school instruction, sociopedagogical solicitude in the firm and parental home. The programme is being coordinated and evaluated by the Federal Institute of Vocational Training which is expected to publish the overall findings of the model projects in 1990.

The entrepreneurs, instructors, teachers and social workers are already convinced, however, that, despite better scholastic education on the part of the young persons, and despite the adequate number of apprenticeships, many young foreigners still have education and socialization deficits. In other words, they still do not fulfil the basic requirements for vocational training. One of the reasons for this is probably the fact that most of the foreigners living in the Federal Republic of Germany — despite the passing of 30 years — tend to keep to themselves, thus establishing little social contact with Germans.

In the experience of the instructors, young foreigners often have great difficulties in understanding technical language, do not know how to handle tools, for instance, and are often incapable of working eight hours in a row. According to a study by the Institute of the German Economy[1], young foreigners not infrequently lack behaviourial qualities which are absolutely essential for occupational activity in an industrialized country: discipline, alertness, powers of concentration and an overall view. Not only education experts but also industry and commerce themselves in the Federal Republic of Germany are anxious to provide additional supplementary measures to prevent young foreigners coming to grief in vocational training. It further states in the study by the Institute of the German Economy: "Enterprises wish to counter the danger of a generation of unemployed persons growing up in the Federal Republic of Germany instead of the urgently needed skilled workers of tomorrow."

1 Helga Herrmann, Dieter Jaehrling: Betriebliche Qualifizierung junger Ausländer, Deutscher Institutsverlag GmbH, Cologne.

Foreign students A privileged fringe group?

A study by sociologists from Cologne University, funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG), examined in 1987 the attitudes and changes in attitudes on the part of Turkish families during their stay in the Federal Republic of Germany. In so doing, it emerged, inter alia, that good scholastic education and vocational training topped the list of Turkish mothers' and fathers' wishes for their children. "If your ask Turkish parents what they would like their children to be, doctor or engineer are the preferred professions," the study states. In other words, professions requiring study at university or Fachhochschule. Higher education reality in the Federal Republic of Germany in the 1980s, of course, shows that, for many Turkish parents and those of other nationalities, the professional aspirations for their offsprings must remain wishes for the time being. Admittedly, with relatively encouraging forecasts of fulfilment.

There were 1.41 million young persons studying at German higher education institutions in the 1987/88 winter semester. The actual number of places provided is for 790,000 students — a situation which has obtained since the mid 1970s. This means that the great problem of the "overload" at universities remains unchanged. Never before in the Federal Republic of Germany has the student population been so large: a year ago it was "only" 1.37 million. This figure has exceeded the optimistic forecast of 1.38 million students in 1988 by the KMK. Of the 230,000 freshmen and women in the 1987/88 winter semester — 9 percent more than a year ago — 16,300 were foreigners — 15,6 percent more the previous year.

This means that 80,000 foreigners are now studying at German higher education institutions: this figure stood at 73,000 in 1985 and was no more than 58,000 in the 1979/80 academic year. The statistics show, however, that, at that time, only 2.5 percent of foreign school leavers in the Federal Republic of Germany were in possession of Fachhochschul- or Hochschulreife (entrance qualification for Fachhochschule or university). This figure stands at 5.5 percent today.

Compared with their German counterparts, 40 percent of whom now boast of the necessary further education requirements, this percentage is still very low — even if it is growing slowly but surely.

Be that as it may, even this relatively small number of foreign students with a German Abitur (Higher School Certificate and university entrance qualification) has been a major headache for higher education institutions for some years. Nowhere else in the German education system do young foreigners have a comparable trump card in their hand which they can play legally without tricks. This trump card is called "Ausländerquote" (foreigners' quota) and is almost equivalent to a credit voucher for a study place. Firstly and above all for the "hard" Numerus clausus disciplines which are subject to restricted admission and for which places are allocated by the ZVS (Central Allocation Office for Study Places) in Dortmund to a specific, precalculated number of the usually very many applicants for these places. These restricted admission subjects include — since the mid 1970s — medicine, dental and veterinary medicine, architecture and psychology. The demand for places in these disciplines far exceeds the number of available places. German study applicants have to undergo a special selection procedure, be at least in possession of a good average mark for the Abitur and/or offer proof that they have been on the waiting list for the required time.

6 percent of the available study places in these Numerus clausus subjects, however, are earmarked for foreign study applicants who have to undergo no tests or meet school certificate requirements. Of the 14,000 study places in medicine federal-wide, for example, 800 were "reserved" in advance for foreigners in 1987/88. In the other subjects with slightly less rigid admission restrictions — such as pharmacy, forestry and the agricultural sciences — 8 percent of the places are made available to foreigners.

By means of this reservation of study places, the Federal Republic of Germany was and still is intent on pursuing development policy, not least foreign cultural policy, particularly for the benefit of countries of the Third World. The children and grandchildren of former guestworkers who, as far as their passport is concerned, are foreigners, but, as far as their scholastic qualifications are concerned, "Bildungsinländer" (foreigners who live in the Federal Republic of Germany and acquire their scholastic and academic qualifications there), have upset these political endeavours of long-standing. Whereas the number of foreign students from developing countries at German universities

German higher education institutions enjoy great prestige in the People's Republic of China. There are currently more than 2,000 Chinese students in the Federal Republic of Germany. Photo: A Chinese doctoral student and her German professor.

stood at 90 percent in 1973, this figure has shrunk to 25 percent in the year 1988 — mainly to the advantage of second and third generation foreign children in the Federal Republic of Germany. Half the foreign students today are Turks, Greeks, Yugoslavs, Italians and Iranians. 70 percent of them have acquired the German Abitur and give the Federal Republic of Germany as their permanent place of residence. And this percentage — education and higher education experts are agreed on this — will increase in future to the further detriment of "genuine" foreigners.

The suggestion has been repeatedly made both at federal and state level to change the allocation procedure for study places for foreign nationals by the introduction of special quotas for foreign Bildungsinländer, for instance. So far there has been no move in this direction, though. It was here that the contradictory educational aims of German policy in regard to foreign nationals (Ausländerpolitik) became apparent: on the one hand, the endeavour to forge ahead with development and foreign cultural policy, and on the other, the conviction that foreign young children living in the Federal Republic of Germany must likewise be given preferential promotion in their efforts to obtain higher educational qualifications.

Thus the West German Rectors Conference (WRK) emphasized anew in 1985 why the 191 Fachhochschulen and universities rejected the suggested extra quota of 2 to 3 percent for Bildungsinländer with a foreign passport: "On the one hand, the genuine quota for foreign students is being so drastically reduced that higher education institutions are being left with too little room for their cultural and development activity within the framework of international relations. On the other hand, the level of the proposed quota for the Bildungsinländer is regarded as too low — at least medium and long-term — in view of the anticipated rise in the proportion of this student group to the total number of study applicants."

Nevertheless, the chapter on "Ausländerstudium" (studies by foreigners) can still not be regarded as closed. As far back as 1983, representatives of higher education institutions taking part in a colloquium organized by the Federal Education Ministry on the problem of the growing number of foreign students agreed that the anticipated general fall in student numbers at the end of the 1980s in the Federal Republic of Germany would help to take some of the steam out of the situation anyway. Even so, this drop in numbers is by no means in sight: on the contrary.

If, however, the wish for academic professions for their children on the part of foreign parents living in the Federal Republic of Germany can be realized at an earlier date thereby, the continuing development in respect of a "voucher for a study place" will not necessarily be a disadvantage.

Future professional and employment opportunities for young foreigners

As already mentioned in the previous chapters, the generation of young foreigners in the Federal Republic of Germany has now become an unmistakable part of German society. All those responsible for or interested in foreigners are convinced that the integration of foreigners into society is inseparably linked with the creation of equality of opportunity on the labour market and in professional life, in the education system and from the social aspect. The observations made earlier on the situation of young foreigners in respect of vocational training make it abundantly clear that there can still be no suggestion of their complete equality of opportunity on the labour market in the Federal Republic of Germany. Many young foreigners still lack qualifications and motivation to purposefully face up to the demands made by promising careers. True, assumed future developments on the German labour market and the tangible progress being made in their integration into the school system readily permit favourable forecasts to be made in regard to young foreigners in the years ahead.

The conditions for vocational and economic integration

Various recent surveys among young foreigners living in the Federal Republic of Germany show that more and more of them are inclining to a longer stay in Germany than originally planned or want to stay here permanently. First, their professional opportunities must be seen against the background of the present labour market situation in the Federal Republic of Germany. Current economic development displays two distinguishing features: slow economic growth is resulting in only marginal increase in employment. This means — despite the many measures by the Government — that unemployment cannot be reduced overnight. Second, the number of jobs in industry, the building trade and mining is steadily falling: the expanding service sector is increasingly offering more jobs. The traditional focal points of employment for foreigners are the processing industries, the building sector and the service sector — particularly in the restaurant business. Foreigners have been badly hit by the decline in the commercial and industrial trades whilst not being favoured by the increase in jobs in the service industry.

The relatively poorly qualified foreigners took on the less attractive jobs which were largely spurned by their German colleagues. This provided them with a certain amount of employment security for many long years. But as the sectors concerned are now undergoing change, the opportunities for the mainly semi-skilled foreigners working in them are dwindling. In the service industry, on the other hand, requirements are growing, in the form of computer-processing knowledge, linguistic and organizational competence. For most first generation foreigners employment prospects here are somewhat bleak. According to a study compiled by the "Centre for Turkish Studies" in Bonn, the following picture of the qualification structure of jobless foreigners is offered: more than 80 percent of all unemployed foreigners have not completed trade training. Finding them jobs on the labour market, moreover, is made particularly difficult if they come from non-EC countries: foreigners from EC countries and Germans have priority. In view of the unemployment level among Germans, which has been stagnating at 9.1 percent for years (14 percent among foreign workers), a new situation has arisen where German unemployed persons are now willing to take on unskilled or semiskilled jobs — formerly the domain of the "Gastarbeiter" (guest workers).

Over and above this, new statistics published by the Institute of Labour market and Vocational Research (IAB) confirm that vocationally untrained persons are not only in great danger of losing their jobs: their chances of finding new employment are growing poorer and poorer.

In view of these developments, the vocational prospects of foreigners in the Federal Republic of Germany are not particularly rosy at the present time. The not too distant future, though, will probably be sending up more promising smoke signals for this demographic group.

According to calculations by the Federal Statistics Office, the size of the German population will have dropped by 3.5 million by the year 2,000 (present level: 60 million). By comparison, the number of foreigners remains fairly constant although it is still not known how many more of them will return to their native land than the relatively few who have already decided to do so.

The drop in the population will be probably be accompanied by a shift in the age structure of the population in the Federal Republic of Germany. The number of (German and foreign) gainfully-employable persons between the ages of 20 and 60 increased in 1988: this figure will slowly decline to the year 1995, and then fall more dramatically. According to the forward estimates by the Federal Government agency for alien affairs, there will be 2.2 million fewer gainfully-employed persons by the year 2000 than there are at present (20.5 million). The proportion of foreign employess will automatically increase.

What will be most important for young foreigners of the second and third generations is the fact that, as time goes by, they will witness a further reduction in the number of their German counterparts. In all probability, the German economy will not be able to meet its requirements of skilled personnel without further ado. Moreover, since, even today, the number of young German persons without trade training is no more than five percent, training reserves already seem well-nigh exhausted. Seeing that, after many years, there was a surplus of training places vis-à-vis a declining demand for apprenticeships for the first time in 1988, young foreigners will be able, in all probability, to reckon on ever increasing prospects of a training place and a relatively secure professional career in the Federal Republic of Germany in future.

The economic importance of foreigners

Ever since the 1950s, foreigners in the Federal Republic of Germany have, in the first instance, been mainly working in a dependent position — as employees. For some years, however, there has been a noticeable trend towards self-employment. Whereas only every 40th foreign employable person was self-employed in 1970, it was every 13th by 1987. This phenomenon stems essentially from the following reasons: the disappointments experienced by repatriates and the threat or occurence of unemployment in the Federal Republic of Germany have prompted many a foreigner to fulfil his long-cherished wish of self-employment in the Federal Republic of Germany. This is undoubtedly also one of the reasons for the growing readiness among foreigners to stay on here.

Further surveys show that self-employment among foreigners is centred on the gastronomic sector and food stores. Further important branches are: import-exports firms, tourism, transport, alteration-tailoring and motor-vehicle repair shops.

Various studies have revealed that the increase in the number of predominantly small businesses is designed to provide jobs for the wives and children of foreign nationals. According to these studies, an average of 3.5 dependants work in foreigners' independent businesses in the Federal Republic of Germany.

As far as the economic strength of foreign employees in the Federal Republic is concerned, figures and estimates on Turks are the ones which are mainly available. Accordingly, Turkish families have a net average monthly income of DM 2,169 — of which DM 792 is saved. The total annual income of all Turks in Germany amounts to DM 15,720 million, DM 5,700 million of which is saved. At 65.7 percent, married Turks occupy first place as borrowers at banks in Germany.

An investment level of DM 170,000 has been assumed for the 22,000 Turkish businesses. This represents a total investment sum of DM 3,800 million and an annual turnover of DM 17.2 million by these enterprises. This development among the Turks, in the opinion of the experts, shows: through gainful employment they wanted to save money and accumulate enough capital to set themselves up in business in their native land. A growing number of them are realizing this aim — except that they are doing so in Germany, and not in their own country as originally intended.

Professional prospects for young foreigners on repatriation

German legislation in regard to entry restrictions and repatriation promotion has contributed, inter alia, to a situation where a considerable number of foreign workers and their dependants return to their own country annually, after widely varying lengths of residence in Germany. Between the years 1982 and 1984 alone, more than 180,000 Turks went home. The reintegration of foreigners in their native land, though, is by no means so smooth as assumed — by Germans.

Although Turkey occupies first place among the countries sending manpower to the Federal Republic of Germany, it must not be overlooked that this country has an inflation rate of 80 percent, an almost constant level of unemployment (1962: 11 percent, 1980: 14.8 percent, 1984: 16.5

percent and an estimated 13.9 percent in 1989) and a growing foreign debt. Despite diverse reintegration assistance for repatriates, state migration policy in Turkey continues to be focused on the despatch of workers abroad to take pressure off the domestic labour market. There is also a move towards better-qualified manpower. Moreover, Turks working in other countries create additional sources of foreign currency by remittances to Turkey. Consequently, the chances of professional reinregration for repatriate Turks cannot be assumed to be automatically good.

The Istabul-based SIAR (Society for Economic and Social Research) stated in 1985 that 42 percent of Turkish repatriates had not been engaged in any form of gainful employment since their return. They were living on their savings. 38 percent were working in the service sector, and only 6 percent in industry. 32 percent of the repatriates either said they been unable to find a job commensurate with their qualifications in the Federal Republic of Germany, or that they had not been adequately trained in Germany to meet the requirements in Turkey. Another Turkish study puts the level of unemployment among Turkish repatriates at 16 percent.

The reintegration process is particularly difficult for second generation women and young persons. There are no special measures in this respect for women. Young Turkish persons, who have grown up in the Federal Republic of Germany, experience both vocational and scholastic problems. The capacity of the ten reception schools (Anadolu Schools) for the children of repatriates is limited. Social readaptation problems also have to be overcome. The recognition of German school certificates has still not been unequivocally established. Turks returning to their native land from the Federal Republic of Germany are regarded as "Deutschländer" and have to reaccustom themselves to values and behaviour patterns with which they have become estranged. In many cases, young Turks, who have grown up in Germany, do not have an adequate knowledge of their mother tongue.

The reintegration of other ethnic groups in their respective lands is also unsatisfactory since Greece, Spain, Yugoslavia and Portugal boast of comparable economic structures.

Summing up, it can be said that second-generation foreigners have even greater integration problems than their parents on repatriation. Their most promising opportunities of professional reintegration are to be found in the service sector, especially in the gastronomic and tourist industries. In view of their knowledge of German — and their knowledge of the needs of the ever-growing number of German tourists in their native lands — the young foreigners can best capitalize on their bicultural education and training when returning to their "old, new native land". It is with this in mind that the ESB — European Vocational Training Centre — has recently started, on behalf of the Federal Labour Ministry, two-year training courses in the hotel and gastronomic industry, which will qualify young Turks in this sector. The acquisition of a qualification on completion of training is linked with the promise of a job on returning to Turkey. The Turkish tourist association TUGEV is to assume responsibility for finding suitable positions for those successfully completing the course.

The image of foreigners in the mass media

The findings of an analysis by media researchers state: "Foreigners are welcome in the Federal Republic of Germany if they can produce an invitation and restrict themselves to a brief stay." The fact that the media play an important part in society's ideas on ethnic minorities, and how society can learn to tolerate and eventually integrate foreign fellow-citizens seemed reason enough for the Bonn-based Federal Central Office of Political Education to make a stockcheck. The findings of a special international conference on the image of foreigners in the mass media in the Federal Republic of Germany, which took place in December 1986, urgently underscore the fact that foreigners continue to be confronted with marked prejudices. At the same time, the organizers of the conference — the Federal Government, the German UNESCO Commission, the Council of Europe and German radio and TV stations — drew attention to the fact that a number of effective impulses had been obtained for their future work. After all, not only the Federal Republic of Germany is being confronted with a new reality: it affects Europe as a whole. Neither the population, nor the politicians, nor the media have paid sufficient attention to the fact that foreigners are playing an increasingly im-

portant role in the structure of West European societies.

German newspapers and broadcasting stations, for instance, present positive reports, for the most part, when they concern sportspeople or artists: foreign workers and those asking for asylum, on the other hand, mostly receive negative treatment.

Prejudices among the German population are literally fueled by inadequate or one-sided reporting in the media. Following a survey conducted by the Federal Government Commissioner for Alien Affairs, 80 percent of all federal citizens are of the opinion that there are too many foreigners living in Germany. 22 percent adopt an even harsher approach: they feel that foreign workers should be expelled from the country.

The awareness of the German population, according to the conference members, and the future role of foreign citizens in the Federal Republic of Germany, are worlds apart. Even though the full impact of the media on the consciousness and attitude of the consumers could not be explored precisely down to the last details, the conference took the view that printed media, radio and television in the Federal Republic of Germany could make a substantial contribution to the initiation of learning processes among readers, listeners and viewers, and thus help promote tolerance, understanding and mutual respect between foreigners and local inhabitants.

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Special Topic

Educational opportunities for young foreigners — The Federal Republic of Germany is promoting integration

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